

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work. 361 [312] 625 167 361

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour. 778

JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques. 491 361 778

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music. 517 369

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot. 361 579

BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. 361 491

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

Year.	Customs Revenue. Rs	Other Revenue. Rs	Oil Royalty. Rs	Total. Rs	Remarks.
1344 ...	8,82,000 ...	1,80,000 ...	— ...	10,62,000 ...	
1345 ...	10,68,000 ...	3,37,000 ...	— ...	14,05,000 ...	
1346 ...	11,43,000 ...	97,000 ...	— ...	12,40,000 ...	
1347 ...	11,24,000 ...	91,000 ...	— ...	12,15,000 ...	
1348 ...	9,98,000 ...	1,36,000 ...	— ...	11,34,000 ...	
1349 ...	6,89,000 ...	1,28,000 ...	— ...	8,17,000 ...	
1350 ...	6,85,000 ...	1,19,000 ...	— ...	8,04,000 ...	
1351 ...	6,00,000 ...	84,000 ...	— ...	6,84,000 ...	
1352 ...	6,08,000 ...	89,000 ...	29,000 ...	7,26,000 ...	
1353 ...	6,57,000 ...	1,63,000 ...	67,000 ...	8,87,000 ...	
1354 ...	6,91,000 ...	83,000 ...	5,68,000 ...	13,42,000 ...	
1355 ...	8,74,000 ...	81,000 ...	6,92,000 ...	16,47,000 ...	

THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

The Levy Corps.

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Natars,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night.

The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafia and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Bahuchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

Political Disturbances.

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There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself.

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There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until next morning, and consequently the criminals escaped.

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In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

Indian Levy Corps.

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and Assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed.

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The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

which was spent on the school during the year, Rs 5,000 - was contributed by public subscription. The school was managed by a committee of Shia notables, and a young Iraqi from Baghdad was appointed as the headmaster. His family had originally lived in Karfi, and after being in Bahrain for some time he was discharged, as his active sympathy with the Shia subjects of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud made him a possible cause of political complaint. Owing to the lack of suitably educated men among the Shias in Bahrain, most of the senior masters at the school were subjects of Iraq. From its beginning the progress of the school was hampered by the dissensions among the members of the committee.

Opening of a Girls' School.

In the same year a school for girls was opened in Muharraq in response to a demand for female education by some of the more progressive and enlightened Arabs of that town. The clerical and conservative Arabs in Bahrain disapproved very strongly of this innovation. They said that it would increase immorality because, if the girls could read and write, they would correspond surreptitiously with men outside their own house. The school was publicly denounced in the Friday mosque, but in spite of this it has been a flourishing institution since it started. The school owed its existence mainly to Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa and Shaikh Mohamed Ali Zainal, the much-respected Hedjazi pearl merchant and educationalist, whose arguments convinced the general public that the school would be beneficial.

Appointment of a School Inspector.

The following year, 1348 (1929-30), was a year of disturbance, changes, and reforms. After a long period of expensive and unproductive school administration, the public began to demand a better return for the large sums of money which were paid every year by the Government to the treasurer of the education committee. The sudden dismissal by the education committee of a headmaster of the Manamah school who had quarrelled with the Muharraq headmaster caused a crisis. The Manamah headmaster was a popular man, and his supporters, who thought that he had been badly treated, openly criticised the conduct of the committee, especially that of the treasurer, and the unsuitable authority which was held by the Muharraq headmaster. Shaikh Abdulllah bin Isa came to the conclusion that if the schools were to be properly managed it was essential that their finance and administration should be under the direct supervision of the Government, and that a qualified inspector of schools should be appointed. Mr. Faik Adham, a Syrian recommended by the President of the Beyrouth University, who held a degree from that university and also a degree from the Islamic College, was appointed as inspector of schools. His wife, a qualified teacher, was made the headmistress of a new school for girls which was opened in Manamah.

Strike of Students and Masters.

The headmaster of the Muharraq school and many of the members of the education committee bitterly resented the appointment of a school inspector and what they regarded as the interference of the Government in school affairs. For many years they had mismanaged educational matters with impunity and no question had been asked about the accounts. When the treasurer was asked to explain certain financial transactions he promptly sent in his resignation, which was accepted. This was the signal for trouble. Without any warning the headmaster of the Muharraq school declared a strike of teachers and students. This action was intended to affect all the schools, but actually only the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools took part in the strike. For several days the boys marched about the towns in procession in a typical Egyptian manner, making noisy demonstrations and delivering speeches against the Government, which they afterwards admitted had been taught to them by the masters. There was a certain amount of disorder, and damage was done to the Muharraq school. Shaikh Abdulllah immediately took strong action: he sent for the two headmasters, who refused to appear, but wrote a long letter, making ridiculous demands. They were promptly dismissed and sent back to Syria, where they organised a venomous press campaign against the Bahrain Government, which was taken up by several newspapers in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The schools were closed for ten days by order of the Government and then re-opened. At first the attendance was small, but soon the normal number of students returned and the schools settled down to their ordinary routine, which continued undisturbed until the end of the term. This demonstration was undoubtedly encouraged by some of the members of the committee whose authority from that time was deliberately curtailed by the Government.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

Fahim I. Qubain

(See map, facing p. 239.)

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ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.¹ In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.² Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.³ We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION

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Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.⁴ (See Tables I, II, and III.)²

¹ Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.

² *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.

⁴ Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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